

## Message Text

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R 121520Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0696

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AMCONSUL BREMEN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE DECISION: ACT  
TWO

REF: BONN 7746

SUMMARY:AT THE JUNE 10 MEETING THE CDU AND CSU PRE-  
SIDIUMS DID NOT AGREE ON THE UNION CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE.  
THERE WAS, HOWEVER, AGREEMENT ON SOME KEY POLICY ISSUES  
(E.G., FOREIGN POLICY) AND, ACCORDING TO THE CDU, IT  
WAS ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THAT DECISIONS ON THE CANDI-  
DATE, THE DIVISION OF CABINET POSTS IN A CDU/CSU GOVERN-  
MENT AND THE REMAINING POLICY ISSUES WOULD BE TAKEN BE-  
FORE THE CDU NATIONAL CONVENTION CONVENES ON JUNE 23.

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THE NEXT JOINT MEETING IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE ON JUNE

19 IN MUNICH AND THE CDU IS CONFIDENT OF OBTAINING CSU ENDORSEMENT FOR CDU PARTY CHAIRMAN KOHL AS UNION CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE. THE STRATEGY PAPERS OF THE TWO PARTIES RELEASED BEFORE THE JUNE 10 MEETING DIFFERED MORE IN TONE AND EMPHASIS THAN IN CONTENT. "DIE WELT DISCLOSED THE EXISTENCE OF A CDU/CSU FRAKTION STAFF PAPER WHICH ARGUED THAT THE UNION PARTIES CAN ONLY TAKE OVER THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT IN COALITION WITH THE FDP. SUCH A STRATEGY WOULD BE MORE AGREEABLE TO KOHL THAN TO FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS. END SUMMARY

1. ACT TWO OF THE PROCESS IN SELECTING THE CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE FOR THE 1976 BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS TOOK PLACE JUNE 10, WHEN THE PRESIDUIMS OF THE CDU AND CSU MET AT CDU HEADQUARTERS IN BONN. THE MEETING LASTED EIGHT HOURS AND SOME KEY DECISIONS WERE MADE. OUR SOURCE TELLS US THAT CDU PARTY CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL THE CDU CHANCELLOR--CANDIDATE, REMAINED FIRM AND THE CSU, AFTER HAVING LITTLE SUCCESS WITH AGGRESSIVE TACTICS IN THE MORNING, DECIDED AT THEIR LUNCH IN THE BAVARIAN STATE REPRESENTATIVE'S HEADQUARTERS IN BONN (THE CSU HAD TURNED DOWN A JOINT LUNCH AT CDU HEADQUARTERS) TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN THE AFTERNOON SESSION.

2. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE TWO GROUPS WOULD MEET AGAIN (PROBABLY ON JUNE 19 IN MUNICH) WHEN THE DECISION ON THE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE, THE FUTURE DIVISION OF JOBS IN A CDU/CSU CABINET, AND UNION POLICY POSITIONS WOULD BE DISCUSSED. CDU PARTY OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT DESPITE CSU PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO THE CONTRARY, AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES WILL BE REACHED BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE CDU NATIONAL CONVENTION ON JUNE 23. A SOURCE CLOSE TO KOHL TOLD US THAT THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THE CSU WOULD AGREE TO KOHL'S CANDIDACY. AT THE JUNE 10 MEETING, AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES WAS REACHED ON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS INCLUDING OSTPOLITIK, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND DEVELOPMENT AID POLICY.

3. DESPITE SOME NEGATIVE PRESS COMMENT THAT KOHL HAD NOT MANAGED TO OBTAIN CSU ENDORSEMENT FOR HIS CANDIDACY JUNE 10, CDU FUNCTIONARIES CLAIM THAT THEY ARE VERY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING. BEFORE THE MEETING, THEY FEARED THAT THE CSU WOULD HOLD OUT AND THAT NO ENDORSEMENT OF KOHL FROM THE BAVARIAN SISTER PARTY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING UNTIL AFTER THE CDU NATIONAL CONVENTION (JUNE 23-25). KOHL MET WITH STRAUSS PRIVATELY IN MUNICH LAST FRIDAY AND, ACCORDING TO KOHL'S AIDE, THE MEETING HELPED PAVE THE WAY FOR THE JUNE 10 MEETING.

4. PRIOR TO THE JUNE 10 MEETING, THE CDU ISSUED A 41-PAGE "STRATEGY PAPER", THE MANNHEIM DECLARATION. THE CDU PAPER, WHICH, ACCORDING TO PARTY OFFICIALS IS PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO SET THE FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSIONS AT THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTION IN MANNHEIM, OUTLINES THE GENERAL VIEWS OF THE CDU ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. THE PAPER CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. ON THE CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT OF OSTPOLITIK, THE PAPER PROPOSES THAT THE FRG MAINTAIN

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POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND THE ABILITY

TO ACT IN PURSUING EASTERN POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES. WEST GERMAN EASTERN POLICY MUST BE ANCHORED IN A FREE AND UNITED EUROPE AND UNDER THE CONSTITUTION IS REQUIRED TO FURTHER THE GOALS OF A REUNIFIED FREE GERMANY. THE SOVIET UNION, THE PAPER SAYS, DOES NOT WISH TO DESTROY THE MATERIAL SUBSTANCE OF WESTERN EUROPE BUT RATHER TO DRAW THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND SPIRITUAL POTENTIAL OF EUROPE TO ITS SIDE AND TO ISOLATE THE UNITED STATES FROM EUROPE. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, THE CDU PAPER CALLS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT AND TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC STABILITY. TO DO THIS REQUIRES A POLICY OF RELIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ESTABLISHING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICY AND STRENGTHENING INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES. THE PAPER ALSO DEALS WITH THE SO-CALLED "NEW SOCIAL QUESTION" (I.E., THE STRENGTHENING OF THE NON-PRODUCTIVE ELEMENTS IN SOCIETY, SUCH AS PENSIONERS, CHILDREN, THE HANDICAPPED, ETC.).

5. ON JUNE 9, THE CSU ISSUED A POSITION PAPER WHICH DIFFERED FROM THE CDU'S PAPER MORE IN TONE THAN IN CONTENT. THE CSU PAPER WARNED AGAINST GROWING SOCIALISM AND COLLECTIVISM AND CALLED FOR A TOLERANT SOCIETY UNDER WHICH ALL GERMANS HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. THE CSU PAPER CALLED FOR A "STRONG STATE AS WELL AS STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF THE NON-PRODUCTIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIETY. REFORMS, SUCH AS INDUSTRIAL CODETERMINATION, THE PAPER STATED, MUST BE IN STRICT CONFORMITY WITH THE CONSTITUTION. THE CSU CALLED FOR STRENGTHENING GERMAN DEFENSE EFFORTS IN VIEW OF THE INCREASINGLY GROWING SOVIET MILITARY DANGER AND STRESSED THAT EASTERN POLICY MUST BE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE 1972 BUNDESTAG DECISIONS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION OF 1973. IN ADDITION TO ISSUING THE POSITION PAPER BEFORE THE JUNE 10 NEGOTIATIONS, THE CSU HELD A SPECIAL PARTY CONVENTION TO DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS. THE DELEGATES UNANIMOUSLY VOTED FOR A RESOLUTION CALLING FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS THE BEST POSSIBLE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE.

6. ON JUNE 7, SPRINGER-OWNED "DIE WELT" DISCLOSED THE EXISTENCE OF A PAPER WHICH HAD BEEN WRITTEN BY MEMBERS OF THE CDU/CSU FRAKTION PLANNING STAFF. THE PAPER, WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY TWO STAFF MEMBERS AND CIRCULATED AMONG THE FRAKTION LEADERSHIP BY CARSTENS, STATED THAT THE UNION PARTIES COULD ONLY HOPE TO TAKE OVER THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT THROUGH A COALITION WITH THE FDP. (ONLY ONCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FRG HAS A SINGLE PARTY

OBTAINED AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY AT THE POLLS IN A NATIONAL ELECTION, I.E., THE CDU/CSU IN 1957.) THE PAPER CALLS FOR A SHIFT IN UNION PARTY STRATEGY IN ORDER TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE FDP TO LEAVE THE SOCIAL/ LIBERAL COALITION WITH THE SPD AND JOIN THE CDU/CSU IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVERNING WEST GERMANY. TO DO THIS, THE PAPER SAID, THE CDU/CSU SHOULD ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE. THE CDU/CSU MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT ACCEPTS THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE FDP AND SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT THE DEMISE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY (E.G., BY CALLING FOR A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, FOR MINORITY PARTIES LIKE THE FDP TO EXIST). THE PAPER WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE CDU/CSU MUST PUBLICLY STRESS THOSE POLICIES AND ARGUMENTS WHICH ARE ATTRACTIVE TO THE FDP. THE UNION PARTIES MUST ALSO CONVINCE THE LIBERALS THAT A PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM COULD BE CARRIED OUT BY A CDU/CSU-FDP COALITION. IN CONTROVERSIES WITH THE FDP, THE CDU/CSU SHOULD BE FACTUAL AND FAIR AND SHOULD NOT OVERPLAY ITS HAND WHEN ATTACKING THE WEAKNESSES OF THE LIBERALS. IN THE BUNDESTAG, THE CDU/CSU SHOULD SUPPORT FDP INITIATIVES WHICH ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH UNION POLICY.

7. THE REACTION TO THE STAFF PAPER WAS VARIED. FDP LEADERS SAID THAT THE CDU MUST PROVE ITSELF IN DEEDS NOT IN WORDS AND MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CDU AND CSU WERE CRITICAL.

8. A SOURCE CLOSE TO HELMUT KOHL SAID THAT THE CDU CHAIRMAN WAS BASICALLY IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PAPER (KOHL'S STAFF MEMBERS HAVE DISCREETLY MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THEIR OPPOSITE NUMBERS IN THE FDP). THE DISCLOSURE OF THE PAPER BY "DIE WELT" WAS AN ATTEMPT, HE SAID, TO DISCREDIT THE IDEA CDU/CSU-FDP COALITION

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BUT IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT FRAKTION CHAIRMAN CARSTENS HAD NOT REJECTED THE IDEA OUT OF HAND BUT SAW FIT TO CIRCULATE THE PAPER FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE FRAKTION LEADERSHIP. MOST CDU POLITICIANS ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE FDP WOULD BREAK AWAY FROM THE SPD UNTIL SOME TIME AFTER 1976, IF AT ALL. SUCH A MOVE BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, THEY AGREE, WOULD HURT THE FDP AT THE POLLS AND UNLESS THE GROUNDWORK WERE LAID CAREFULLY OVER A PERIOD OF TIME, A DECISION BY THE FDP TO JOIN WITH THE CDU/CSU COULD CAUSE A SERIOUS SPLIT WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY.

9. IT APPEARS CERTAIN THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CSU WILL COME AROUND TO SUPPORTING HELMUT KOHL AS THE UNION CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES ON MOST POLICY ISSUES ARE NOT SO GREAT AS TO PREVENT AGREEMENT. MORE IMPORTANTLY, STRAUSS AND THE CSU ARE WELL AWARE THAT THEY HAVE NO PLACE ELSE TO

GO. THE "HANG TOUGH" STRATEGY OF THE CSU IF IT IS NOT CARRIED TOO FAR OR TOO LONG, IS LIKELY TO OBTAIN CONCESSIONS FOR THE BAVARIAN PARTY--STRAUSS CAN HAVE ANY MINISTRY HE WANTS IN A KOHL GOVERNMENT AND RUMOR HAS IT THAT HE IS LEANING TOWARDS THE FINANCE MINISTRY. IF HE DID SO IT IS LIKELY THAT CARSTENS WOULD BECOME FOREIGN MINISTER IN A CDU/CSU CABINET. THE CSU WILL ALSO OBTAIN ONE OR TWO OTHER MINISTRIES AND WILL BE ABLE TO PREVENT THEIR BETE NOIR WALTHER LEISLER KIEP FROM HEAD-ING ANY OF THE KEY MINISTRY POSTS. GIVEN STRAUSS' DEBATABLE CONTRIBUTION TO CDU STRENGTH IN RECENT LAENDER ELECTIONS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF GERMANY AS WELL AS THE REGIONAL NATURE OF THE CSU POWER BASE, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT THE CHRISTIAN-SOCIAL UNION CAN EXPECT MORE.  
HILLENBRAND

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